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- DoD proposed P-3

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~~Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP~~

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~~Date 10-18-18 - (b)~~



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

*Argentina*

May 30, 1980

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MEMORANDUM

TO: HA - Ms. Patt Derian  
FROM: HA - Stephen E. Palmer, Jr.  
Patrick J. Flood

SUBJECT: Interdepartmental Group Meeting on a 1980  
Plan for Argentina, May 29, 1980

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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Summary Results

- No change in Humphrey-Kennedy this year
- NSC staff supports continued strong commitment to human rights policy
- No change in our IFI ☒ votes (wasn't even mentioned)
- OPIC proposal seems dead
- Proposal to offer "lower profile" in UNHRC seems shelved for 1980
- No AID program for Argentine Army swamp reclamation project this year
- Probably no Argentine Army instructors at US Army School in Panama this year
- Ambassador Bowdler will visit Argentina this summer to continue the dialogue
- If results of Bowdler mission are favorable, we'll sign agricultural agreement, propose consultations on global and hemispheric defense issues (i.e., Soviet military/naval activities), and use GOA apprehension about OASGA action on IAHRRC report as leverage to gain improvements in the interim. Also possibly propose policy planning talks (like those we have with Brazil).

*Bowdler  
will  
offer*

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-- Mixed Economic Commission will meet in the fall, with USDEL prepared to voice human rights policy concerns

-- HA proposal for consultations with West Europeans on human rights and East-West issues was approved in principle

-- Agreement to move ahead on consular convention and income tax treaty

-- No high-level military visits this year

-- No agreement on how US should handle issue of accounting for disappeared persons

-- No decision on how to respond to Argentine feeler on holding OAS General Assembly in Buenos Aires

-- No decision on exactly how to deal with the grains issue (Fight is between EB and ARA)

-- No decision on how to handle pending nuclear equipment export applications and related nuclear issues (Fight is between ACDA and OES)

#### Recommendation

Ambassador Bowdler is aware that you will want to discuss some of these matters with him, particularly the US approach to the issue of accounting for disappeared persons and the venue of the OAS General Assembly. In view of the intense DOD pressure on certain items, you may want to restate our objections to the guest-instructor and AID-for-the-Army proposals.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Discussion

The meeting lasted two hours and 20 minutes. John Bushnell chaired the first hour, Ambassador Bowdler the rest.

-- Humphrey - Kennedy: DOD tried hard but failed to win backing for an attempt to modify the Kennedy-Humphrey amendment this year

-- NSC View: NSC (Tom Thornton) made it clear early in the meeting that the NSC staff is looking at this review process in a context in which human rights remains a central objective, and that there is no intention to downgrade this objective. Any courses of action resulting from this process will therefore have to avoid any measures which would detract from the human rights objective.

-- IFI: Our IFI votes were not even mentioned, clearly suggesting that in Washington there is no interest in or support for changing our position. (Embassy Buenos Aires had recommended we offer a switch as part of a "comprehensive understanding" on human rights issues. Buenos Aires also recommended a change in Kennedy-Humphrey as part of the package)

-- OPIC: The only mention of OPIC was a passing reference by John Bushnell to the fact that it seems to be dead because of legal reasons

-- UNHRC: There was little discussion of the ARA/Embassy suggestion to offer the Argentines a "lower US profile" at the next UN Human rights Commission session. IO and HA opposed it, and there appeared to be a consensus to drop it from the 1980 package on the grounds that the UNHRC doesn't meet until 1981.

-- Argentine Instructors; AID Project for Argentine Army: We voiced strong opposition to DOD proposals to reinstate Argentine Army instructors at the US Army School in Panama and to provide a \$30,000 AID grant to the Argentine Army for a reclamation project. H (Peggy Lampl) and one or two others supported us. No one supported DOD.

H will take soundings on the Hill about likely Congressional reaction to the instructor idea and get back to ARA, HA, and other interested parties. ARA may try to revive this later, but it's on ice for now.

Ambassador Bowdler shares our reservations about the AID proposal. It seems dead for 1980.

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-- Bowdler Mission: There was general agreement that Assistant Secretary Bowdler should visit Argentina this summer, preferably in connection with his trip to Peru for President Belaunde's inauguration in late July, to continue the process of dialogue and to seek specific human rights improvements and progress on other policy objectives. To the degree that the Argentines accommodate our concerns during or just after Ambassador Bowdler's visit, we would plan to undertake these steps:

- sign the proposed agricultural cooperation agreement
- propose military consultations (possibly including Brazil) on Soviet activities in the South Atlantic
- propose a JCS-Argentine Armed Services meeting on global defense issues
- consult with the GOA on the position the US would take at the OAS General Assembly on the IAHRC report, utilizing Argentine fears of a one-sided condemnatory resolution as a lever to obtain on-the-ground improvements between now and the October-November Assembly
- possibly propose policy planning talks (like those we have with the Brazilians) to be held late in the year, after the new Argentine President has been selected. (PF note: there was no discussion of this at the IG meeting, but it is in the issues paper. I understand informally that ARA's initial enthusiasm for this has begun to cool, at least in the form originally presented, i.e., a second Bowdler mission to Buenos Aires).

-- Mixed Economic Commission: There was also general agreement to go forward with the Mixed Economic Commission meeting in October, providing that the US Delegation is fully prepared to discuss human rights policy concerns as well as economic issues.

-- Consultations with our Allies: There was agreement in principle to accept our proposal for consultation with the West Europeans and Canadians on human rights and East-West issues, with an understanding that the initial talks will be held in the NATO and UNHRC contexts. We are already doing the latter, so the new element is to expand and deepen discussion of these matters in Brussels. Possible joint or parallel diplomatic demarches to the GOA could result

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from the Brussels talks. The IG agreed that the proposal was worth further exploration and development within the USG. (DOD representatives voiced opposition to the whole idea, but I don't think they'll really try to stop it.)

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-- US-Argentine Military Visits: It was agreed that, in large part because of Argentine reservations, there will be no high-level military visits this year. These will likely take place next year, depending on the state of affairs at the time. (DOD was disappointed by this.)

-- Consular Convention; Income Tax Treaty: It was also agreed to move ahead with negotiation of a consular convention and a bilateral income tax treaty. We supported these steps as the kind of positive steps to strengthen relations (as directed by the PRC) which do not damage our human rights policy objectives.

Unresolved Issues

While the foregoing list clearly includes items on which there remain differences, or on which important details need to be elaborated, it nevertheless represents a broad core-area of agreement. There are sharper divisions, however on these issues:

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-- Accounting for Disappeared persons: the priority we accord to accounting for disappearances, and the methods we should employ in pursuing this objective. ARA believes we should leave the matter exclusively to multilateral institutions such as the UNHRC. We argued that we need to keep bilateral pressure on the GOA to cooperate fully with the UNHRC, thereby reinforcing the latter. We cannot drop the issue from its hitherto prominent place in our diplomatic dialogue because this would signal we have turned our backs on the atrocities. At the same time, we can make clear that the issue of "accounting" in our policy means something other than "bringing the guilty to account". ARA wants to talk further about this whole matter.

-- Site of the OAS General Assembly: John Bushnell told the meeting that the Argentines have just approached Ambassador McGee to inquire about our attitude toward a possible Argentine invitation to the OAS to hold this year's General Assembly in Buenos Aires. There was a long and inconclusive discussion. We raised some reservations. ARA (Sam Eaton) pointed out some possible human rights advantages. We agreed the idea merits more careful consideration and promised to get back to ARA early in the

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week of June 2. There seemed to be some support for an initial neutral US response to the GOA feeler, coupled with a suggestion that the Argentines sound out other delegations and get back to us. \*

The problem: No one else has offered to host the Assembly.

-- Nuclear Exports: OES and ACDA engaged in a long, occasionally technical, and inconclusive debate about nuclear exports and how they should relate to overall US nuclear policy toward Argentina. ARA joined in, generally leaning toward the OES view. DOD backed a liberal export policy. Ambassador Bowdler asked OES, ACDA and ARA to continue the discussion later.

-- Grains: Our grains strategy vis-a-vis Argentina will be influenced by the outcome of current discussion with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It was thus agreed to postpone a decision on this item for another week or so.

\* Late Note: We have just received a draft options memo to the Secretary on this issue (attached).

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